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CITIZENS FOR THE REPUBLIC DINNER  
FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1984

It's a genuine pleasure to be here with so many good friends this evening.

It is also great to be back in California, especially since California government has again become Brown free.

You know Jerry Brown and John Glenn have much in common. They both went up in space. The only difference is that Glenn came down.

But you can all be proud of your new Governor. Even out in Washington, we're getting such great reports about how Governor Dukmejian is doing. They say he's conservative simply because he believes in arithmetic.

Seriously, tonight, being with so many with whom I've gone through campaigns and legislative battles. There are bonds between us forged by common ideals and what my boss describes as the blood and sweat of the arena.

It is fitting we're here to help Citizens For The Republic. It has served a significant role since its founding in 1977. The task it's taken on -- electing right thinking people to the Senate and House -- is vital to the success of President Reagan's second term.

Curtis Mac, you're doing a fantastic job, and although by law all members of the President's reelection campaign have to stay at arms length, we wish you well and congratulate you for the professional job you're doing.

We have journeyed far together since we first joined with Ronald Reagan in pursuit of his dream for America -- A dream which we all shared.

We were convinced then that America needed a new direction. Government was out of control. Our country had drifted away from the values that made us a great nation -- values of family, work, neighborhood, peace, and freedom. We agreed with Ronald Reagan when he said that we could resurrect a spirit of hope with economic growth and opportunity. And we agreed with Ronald Reagan when he said that we could rebuild the strength and credibility of our military and foreign policy, so America could become a confident and effective leader again for security, freedom, and peace.

Now, seven years later, all the world recognizes what we have known all along: America's best days are still ahead. America is back.

They said it couldn't be done, didn't they? As recently as 1980 many thought our problems were out of control.

You remember them as well as I do. Double-digit inflation, the energy crisis, the highest interest rates in a hundred years, America's loss of world leadership and declining military strength were among our many problems. Yet our so-called leaders told us they couldn't be solved.

They said we would have to learn to live without economic growth and learn to live with high inflation, high taxes, and scarce energy.

But Ronald Reagan rejected this pessimism. He offered hope. He promised change.

And he delivered. Now Americans are feeling better about themselves, their country and their future. For the first time in years there's a growing optimism across this land.

Recent polls tell the story. Some 66 percent of all voters today approve the American quality of life. And 62 percent agree that this Nation's best times are still ahead. Seven out of ten Americans expect that 1984 will be better than 1983 for them personally -- a 21 percent jump since January 1981 and the highest rating since 1960 when John F. Kennedy was President. And, for the first time since 1964, public confidence in government is rising.

Make no mistake about it -- the election of Ronald Reagan was a triumph of optimism over pessimism, a victory for renewal of the American spirit over continued national self-doubt.

In 1981 he caught the attention of all Americans with this promise of a new beginning for this country, a beginning grounded in the twin pillars of a strong economy and a strong defense.

Recovery without inflation was our primary goal. And we've accomplished it. From the double digit inflation of 1979 and 1980 we've reduced it to less than 4 percent.

Reduced inflation together with our tax cuts make working Americans better off than they were. And with falling unemployment, more Americans are working Americans than ever before.

Our broad-based economic recovery has created 4.3 million new jobs: 215,000 in the auto industry, 440,000 in construction; 960,000 in services; and 1.2 million in manufacturing.

Last year was the first year since 1972 that we enjoyed the winning combination of consistent solid growth, low inflation and falling unemployment.

Don't let anyone tell you that the average American isn't benefitting from our economic turnaround. From new job opportunities in high tech industries to more affordable housing and gains in real wages the American family is doing better. Thanks to lower inflation and reduced taxes the median income family now has \$1200 more purchasing power than if inflation and taxes had stayed at the 1980 levels. Now that's what I call fairness.

We've proved that government can work to change things for the better -- and that Americans still respect and want to preserve basic values -- the dignity of work, the importance of family, neighborhood and worth of the individual.

Surely there can be no more debate on this point. Americans are better off -- with more jobs, lower taxes, a paycheck that goes further and a chance at the good things in life that seemed unattainable only three years ago.

Not only do the American people want their country to be a good and decent place. They also want their country to be strong, for our own security and for the cause of peace. Four years ago this country was being counted out. Our friends and our adversaries doubted whether we had the national will to remain a great power.

Ronald Reagan gave voice to the values we share. He spoke out against tyranny, spoke up for democracy and he's made America

stronger, safer and more secure than before. We're working for peace from a position of new strength. We're gaining the respect we lost.

From the start our new sense of purpose in foreign policy was clear. U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick was asked shortly after she arrived at the U.N. about the difference between this Administration's policies and that of its predecessor. She replied that we've taken off our "kick-me" sign.

"Does this mean that if you're kicked you'll kick back?" she was asked.

"Not necessarily," she replied. "But it does mean that if we've kicked, at least we won't apologize."

Over these last three years I've traveled throughout the world with the President. I can assure you that we are now exercising the leadership the free people of the world want and expect from the United States. From Europe to the Middle East to Central America our commitment to democracy and willingness to work for peace is clear to all.

But our work is not done. The President has outlined his vision for the future and has asked the Nation to unite behind his four great goals "to keep America free, secure, and at peace in the eighties": ensuring steady economic growth; developing America's next frontier; strengthening our traditional values; and building a meaningful peace. He's working to keep America moving forward. He wants to get on with freedom's next steps.

I know that you support the President and his goals. Now we need to ensure that we have a Congress that supports them, too. As you well know, the President can't do it alone.

Take the budget, for example. If the Congress had accepted the budget cuts proposed by the President in his first three years in office, the deficit would be at least \$40 billion less than it is now.

The plain truth is that it is the Congress that spends the money. Under our Constitution, the President doesn't have the right to spend even one penny.

Let's remember something else. Deficit spending began 50 years ago and 46 of those 50 years, Democrats controlled Congress. If the President is going to be asked to finish what he started, he needs a Congress that's willing to work on structural reforms, not one that believes all we need to do is shift from a policy of spend and spend to a policy of tax and tax.

These have been phenomenal years with phenomenal accomplishments, but -- what a phenomenal man Ronald Reagan is. I joined his staff in Sacramento when I was just 29 years old. I've spent much of my adult life working with this man. I can't think of any way I would rather have spent these important years in my life than being by his side, working for the ideals that he so ably expresses. A reporter once asked him if he thought of me as a son -- "No," he replied, "I think more like a father." Over the years, I've had various areas of responsibility, but seriously, having been with President Reagan as long as I have,

the question I hear most often is: Just what kind of a man is Ronald Reagan?

Well, he is a caring man. He is the kind of man who got in this car after a long days work as Governor of California and went 18 miles to deliver roses to a young woman for her anniversary. Her husband had written him from Vietnam, asking him to do something for his wife on their first anniversary.

He is a man with a sense of humor, as the whole world discovered on that dark day when his quips lightened the tensions for all of us after he'd been wounded in an assassination attempt.

He is a humble man. I'll never forget in Nebraska when former Senator Eugene McCarthy came to speak with him, thinking of a possible endorsement. After spending time with President Reagan he committed himself. This grand old liberal told me on the way out that he liked Ronald Reagan because he was certain that Ronald Reagan would be the first President since Harry S Truman who wouldn't confuse the job with the man. And he never has.

I've been with him on hot sweltering days and even then he refuses to take off his coat in the Oval Office out of respect for the institution.

He's a man who doesn't care who gets the credit. On the day of inauguration in 1981, when President-elect Reagan was about to walk out to the ceremony, he turned to me and told me if it was confirmed that the hostages had left Iranian airspace during his inaugural address, that I should step forward and let him know.



If that happened, he planned to call President Carter to the podium to make the announcement together that the hostages were free and safe. This is the kind of man Ronald Reagan is.

He is a courageous man. I recently accompanied President Zhao of China to California after his visit to the White House. I told him how then Governor Reagan stood on the Capitol steps in Sacramento and told 14,000 screaming professors and students from the University system that they'd have to obey the rules or get out.

He is also a man of compassion. I've slipped into the Oval Office a few times and watched in silence from a corner. Watched him alone doing the heart wrenching job of calling the family members of those brave men killed in Lebanon. I watched him muster all his emotional strength to speak with the wives, mothers, fathers and children of the victims of the bomb blast in Beirut. Ronald Reagan is leaving his personal imprint on this country. He is leaving his imprint on the Republican Party. He's leaving his imprint on history and he is leaving his imprint on you and on me.

Tonight, being with so many old friends I can't help but think of one face who is not here. Justin Dart, a man who meant so much to all of us, just as he meant a lot to the President.

When the papers wrote about Justin's death they referred to him, among other things, as a member of the kitchen cabinet. They didn't mention, it was his kitchen.

Justin was a man of strong conviction. His beliefs in individual freedom and responsibility affected a host of people,

not the least of whom was Ronald Reagan. Justin continues to contribute to his country by what the President is doing and by what we are doing. By what C.F.T.R. is doing.

The greatest tribute we can pay to Justin is to finish the work we've started. Tonight is a step in that direction. Your goal to contribute \$1 million toward Senate and House campaigns this year is crucial. If you're successful, then in the second term, the President can be successful.

I know at times, especially when we lose a friend and significant force in our team like Justin Dart, it can be depressing. But if there is one thing I've learned from President Reagan it is optimism and the ability never to give up.

How many here tonight remember back in 1976. We'd worked all year trying to win the nomination. We came close, but it wasn't good enough. If it had been left to some of us we'd have given up and all of the achievements we've made these last four years would never have happened. The difference was the indomitable spirit of that man.

The next morning after the nomination was lost, the California delegation gathered together and Ronald Reagan, remembering something he'd read, quoted us and old verse. It goes something like this:

Though I am wounded, I am not slain.

I'll lay me down and rest a while.

And then I'll rise to fight again.

The fight for liberty will never be over. Let's thank God that we have a man like Ronald Reagan to lead us and give us encouragement and to add meaning to our lives.

As you go about your work over the next 10 months, I urge that you be guided by the President's challenge to all of us in this year's State of the Union address: "Let us be sure that those who come after will say of us that, in our time, we did everything that could be done. We finished the race, we kept them free, we kept the faith."

Thank you for having me with you this evening.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 14, 1984

Mr. Deaver:

Attached is the agenda for your session with Senator Specter's club this Wednesday, May 16th at 3:00 p.m.

The program will take place in Room 325 of the Russell Senate Office Building. Senator Specter's office was not planning on having a podium, however, if you're more comfortable using one they would be glad to make the necessary arrangements. A microphone will be provided that can either be used at your table or that can be used to rove up and down the aisles during the Q&A's.

DB

**DONNA L. BLUME**

CITIZENS FOR ARLEN SPECTER DAY

MAY 16, 1984

Requested  
5/15  
8:15 a.m.  
DB

AGENDA

- 12:30-1:00 p.m. REGISTRATION
- 1:00-1:15 WELCOME  
Senator Arlen Specter
- 1:15-1:45 OVERVIEW: U.S. SENATE ACTIVITY  
Senator Howard Baker, Tennessee  
Majority Leader
- 1:45-2:30 REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PERSPECTIVES  
Senator Robert Dole, Kansas  
Senator Ernest Hollings South Carolina
- 2:30-3:00 A WHITE HOUSE PERSPECTIVE  
James Baker  
Chief of Staff
- 3:00-3:30 A PERSONAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE PRESIDENT  
Michael Deaver  
Assistant to the President
- 3:30-4:00 Coffee Break
- 4:00-4:30 A 1984 CAMPAIGN PERSPECTIVE  
David Garth  
Political Consultant
- 4:30-5:00 A HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES PERSPECTIVE  
Congressman Jack Kemp, New York
- 5:00-5:30 PENNSYLVANIA INDUSTRIAL PERSPECTIVE  
Senator John Heinz
- 5:30-7:30 Cocktail Reception  
S207  
The Capitol

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

February 1, 1984

Honorable Michael K. Deaver  
Assistant to the President and  
Deputy Chief of Staff  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mike:

While it is some distance in the future, I have organized a "Club" for a four-year fund raising plan in order to prepare for a 1986 campaign for re-election to the U.S. Senate.

A major inducement and a highlight of the Club's program is a day in Washington which we have scheduled for Wednesday, May 16, 1984. Last year 250 Pennsylvanians attended at their own expense.

I would personally very much appreciate it if you could take time from your busy schedule to speak to my Club members for 30 minutes starting at 3:30 p.m. on that date in Room 325 of the Russell Senate Office Building. If that particular time is inconvenient, I'm sure we can rearrange the scheduling in the time frame from 1:15 p.m. to 5:30 p.m.

As you will note, this is a very important program for me. I would very much appreciate your help.

Sincerely,

Arlen Specter

AS:sn

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 10, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL K. DEEVER

FROM: PAM G. BAILEY *PGB*

SUBJECT: REMARKS TO ARLEN SPECTER'S "CLUB" --  
May 16, 1984

Attached are draft remarks for your session with Specter's club. They're in text form but you may want to deliver them informally. You may want to add some additional personal anecdotes about the China trip.

The audience will be about 250 people from Pennsylvania who have contributed at least \$1000 to Specter's re-election "club". Most of them are CEO's.

Last October Specter brought them all to town for a foreign relations day. They met with both Shultz and Weinberger.

This time the focus is political with Howard Baker; followed by a Dole-Hollings debate on party platforms; Jim Baker; you; David Garth and maybe a pollster.

You're expected to speak briefly and take Q's and A's.

*DB*  
*Where is this to be held?*  
*sent what is format?*  
*no*  
*is there a podium?*  
*yes*  
*(sitting or standing?)*

*pm*  
*325*  
*RS 013*

ARLEN SPECTER'S CLUB

May 16, 1984

Thank you Arlen. It's a genuine pleasure to be here today and to have the opportunity to talk with the members of your "club".

You've asked me to share my personal perspective of the President. I'm glad to do so -- although I suspect that what I tell you won't be a surprise.

Perhaps more than any other public figure in my lifetime, Ronald Reagan has the special ability to be open and candid with the public. He genuinely likes people and Americans, in turn, like him.

I've spent much of my adult life working with Ronald Reagan. I joined his staff in Sacramento when I was just 29 years old. I can't think of any way I would rather have spent these important years in my life than being by his side, working for the ideals that he so ably expresses. A reporter once asked him if he thought of me as a son -- "No," he replied, "I think more like a father."



Over the years, I've had various areas of responsibility, but seriously, having been with President Reagan as long as I have, the question I hear most often is the one you're interested in: Just what kind of a man is Ronald Reagan?

Well, he is a caring man. He is the kind of man who got in his car after a long days work as Governor of California and went 18 miles to deliver roses to a young woman for her anniversary. Her husband had written him from Vietnam, asking him to do something for his wife on their first anniversary.

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confirmed that the hostages had left Iranian airspace during his inaugural address, that I should step forward and let him know. If that happened, he planned to call President Carter to the podium to make the announcement together that the hostages were free and safe. This is the kind of man Ronald Reagan is.

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He is also a man of compassion. I've slipped into the Oval Office a few times and watched in silence from a corner. Watched him alone doing the heart wrenching job of calling the family members of those brave men killed in Lebanon. I watched him muster all his emotional strength to speak with the wives, mothers, fathers and children of the victims of the bomb blast in Beirut.

Yes, Ronald Reagan is the same man in private as you see in public. He doesn't turn off his compassion, his humility or his concern when he closes the office door. When the staff tried to discuss with him options for reacting to the return from Syria of Jesse Jackson and Air Force pilot Goodman, the President immediately ended the conversation. "I'm going to invite them to the White House. The only way we can lose is if we're not gracious," he said. There's not one ounce of pettiness in the man.

I'm sure you'll agree that Ronald Reagan enjoys being President. It shows. Unlike other recent Presidents he hasn't visibly aged under the burden of office. To the contrary, he's thrived -- and even become stronger physically, adding \_\_\_ inches to his chest through a rigorous exercise program.

At the root of Ronald Reagan's success throughout his life and now as President is his consistent, unshakeable optimism. At no time was this more evident than in 1980 when he ran for President, telling Americans our best days are still ahead.

Remember those days? Many thought our problems were out of control. Double digit inflation, the energy crisis, the highest interest rates in a hundred years, America's loss of world leadership and decline in military strength were among our many problems. Yet our so-called leaders told us they couldn't be solved.

They said we would have to learn to live without economic growth and learn to live with higher inflation, high taxes and scarce energy.

But Ronald Reagan rejected this pessimism. He caught the attention of all Americans with his promise of a new beginning. He offered hope. He promised change. And he delivered. Now Americans are feeling better about themselves, their country -- their futures. For the first time in years there is a general optimism across this land.

Make no mistake about it -- the election of Ronald Reagan was a triumph of optimism over pessimism, a victory for renewal of the American spirit over continued National self-doubt.

I wish you could have been with us in China last month when the President met with students at Fudan University. In closing his remarks, he suggested that the students keep one thought in mind in the years ahead. As he spoke, I heard the thoughts that I know have guided Ronald Reagan the man and Ronald Reagan the leader throughout his life: "It's not so much what's inside the Earth that counts but what's inside one's heart and mind because that's the stuff that dreams are made of and [your nations] future depends on your dreams and your faith and determination to make your dreams come true."

I thank you for having me and I'd be glad to answer your questions.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 5, 1984

MEMORANDUM TO MICHAEL K. DEEVER

FROM: DONNA BLUME

SUBJECT: Your 9:00 a.m. Interview with Marion Herman

The following are questions submitted by Marion Herman for your 9:00 a.m. interview tomorrow morning.

1. Where did you go to college and what did you major in?
2. How did you get involved with the government?
3. How did you get involved with Reagan?
4. What does being Deputy Chief of Staff entail?
5. What are your responsibilities?
6. If you had to describe a typical day on the job, what would it be?
7. How do you communicate with the President and how often?
8. What are the major issues Reagan must confront in the 1984 election?
9. What do you see as the greatest weaknesses of the three Democratic candidates: Mondale, Hart, and Jackson?
10. How much are the Meese hearings going to hurt Reagan in the election, if at all?
11. Should Reagan continue to support Meese as he has been doing?
12. In what ways is Reagan responsible for the upswing in the economy?
13. How will the economy help his chances for re-election?
14. Which of the Democratic candidates would be most difficult for Reagan to beat?
15. Is U.S. involvement in Lebanon a significant issue in the election?
16. How will Reagan deal with criticism of his foreign policy especially in Central America?
17. Is the election likely to focus heavy attention on foreign affairs?
18. What are your plans after you leave the White House?

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 16, 1984

SCHEDULE OF

MICHAEL K. DEEVER

8:00 Senior Staff Meeting	Roosevelt Room
8:15 Baker Briefing Group	Roosevelt Room
8:30 MKD Communications Group	
9:00 President/JAB, EM, MKD	Oval Office
9:30 President/NSC Briefing	Oval Office
9:45 President/ Senior Staff	Oval Office
10:00 NSC Speech Meeting	
11:00 Bill Plante	
11:30 JAB AND Jim Cicconi re: Dade County	
12:00 POTUS/Lunch with Prime Minister FitzGerald and prominent Irish Americans	Residence
1:30 MKD Communications Dick Darman, Mike McManus, Craig Fuller, Larry Speakes and Pam Bailey	Roosevelt Room
2:15 First Lady	
3:30 Max Friedersdorf and Bill Codus	
4:00 Fred Ryan and Bill Sittmann	
4:30 Frank Donnatelli	
5:00 MKD Staff Meeting	

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: FOREIGN POLICY SPEECH

Thursday, March 22, 1984

1:30 p.m. (30 minutes)

The Oval Office

FROM: RICHARD G. DARMAN *D'ch*

I. PURPOSE

The meeting is to get your reactions to the attached outline. It is for a major foreign policy speech you are tentatively scheduled to give on April 6 at the Georgetown Center for International Affairs -- in connection with a conference on bi-partisanship in foreign policy. (Other speakers include Kissinger and Brzezinski.)

II. PARTICIPANTS

The President  
Edwin Meese III  
James A. Baker III  
Michael K. Deaver  
Robert C. McFarlane  
Richard G. Darman  
Michael A. McManus  
Robert M. Kimmitt  
Bentley Elliott  
Donald R. Fortier

III. AGENDA

We should first discuss the attached outline of the proposed foreign policy speech.

Please note: If time permits, Jim Baker, Mike Deaver and I will also wish to discuss the Gridiron jokes with you.

FOREIGN POLICY CHALLENGES FOR THE '80sI. SHARED GOALS -- AMERICAN IDEALISM

- (1) Americans of all kinds share two goals for foreign policy:
  - (a) a safer world;
  - (b) a world in which individual rights can be respected and precious values may flourish.
- (2) These are at the heart of America's idealism.
- (3) But stated abstractly, these goals are not exclusively American. They are shared by people all over the world.
- (4) Tragically, a world in which these fundamental goals are so widely shared is nonetheless a troubled world: Though we and our allies enjoy peace and prosperity,
  - o many of our citizens fear super-power conflict and the horrible threat of nuclear war;
  - o around the world, terrorists threaten innocent people and civilized values; and
  - o in developing countries, orderly progress is threatened by violent revolution and totalitarianism.
- (5) Obviously, the fact that abstract goals may be widely shared is hardly enough to assure their achievement. What matters are the practical means by which they are pursued.

II. PRACTICAL MEANS -- AMERICAN REALISM

- (6) In pursuing our idealistic objectives, we are guided by these practical principles:
  - (a) Realism. Idealistic ends can only be achieved through realistic means.
  - (b) Intelligence. Policies can only be effective if the information on which they are based is sound.
  - (c) Strength. Weakness is inescapably destabilizing. Strength is a prerequisite for security, effective negotiation, democracy, stability, and peace.
  - (d) Economic Growth. Neither strength nor stability can be achieved and sustained without it.
  - (e) Non-aggression. We have no territorial ambitions. Our strength is to assure deterrence and to secure our interests if deterrence fails.
  - (f) Shared Responsibility with Allies. The protection of freedom is a heavy responsibility -- that can be satisfactorily met only if the burden is shared.
  - (g) Dialogue with Adversaries. Though we may oppose the values and policies of our adversaries, we must always be willing to resolve our differences by peaceful means.
  - (h) Bipartisanship at Home. In our two-party democracy, no foreign policy can be effectively managed or sustained without bipartisan support at home.



(7) For the past three years, we have been steadily rebuilding our capacity to advance our foreign policy goals. We have done so, first, by renewed attention to these practical principles.

-- [Cite a statistic or example for each of (a) - (h) above -- i.e., intelligence build-up, defense build-up, economic renewal, strengthened alliance, etc.]

IV. REMAINING CHALLENGES -- AMERICAN AGENDA

(8) But while much has been accomplished to strengthen the basis for U.S. foreign policy, much remains to be done -- building on our renewed and strengthened base. We might usefully frame our continuing agenda in relation to four great challenges:

(A) CHALLENGE #1:

(9) We must reduce the risk of nuclear war -- and reduce the levels of nuclear armaments (in a way that also reduces the risk they will ever be used).

-- [Cite elements of our policy -- and associated logic.]

-- [Note progress to date -- highlighting bi-partisanship represented by Scowcroft Commission.]

-- [Note proposals by critics -- who appear to share our goals, but whose chosen means don't meet the tests of practicality.]

-- [Cite additional related elements: hotline-type risk reduction; R&D on strategic defense for long-term; MBFR; strengthening the non-proliferation regime -- e.g. China/IAEA.]

(B) CHALLENGE #2:

(10) We must strengthen the basis for stability in troubled and strategically sensitive regions.

-- Nuclear arms control alone cannot guarantee safety or security; nor can it alone provide a basis for constructive regional development.

-- [Cite adverse pattern of rising regional strife and inflammatory terrorism in the '70s.]

-- In general, effective regional stabilization requires a mix of security assistance, economic assistance, and diplomatic mediation -- an integrated approach.

-- [Cite excellent example of policy logic: work of bi-partisan Kissinger Commission re Central America (Elaborate.)]

-- [Integrated approach similarly required for Middle East. (Explain.)]

-- Because effective approaches to regional problem-solving must involve an integrated mix on a sustained basis, it is essential that Congress give full -- not piecemeal -- support to such approaches. Indeed, where we have foundered in regional stabilization it has been exactly because the Congress has failed to provide such support. (Note: "I'll return to this point when I discuss the fourth challenge in a few moments.")

(11) We must expand opportunities for economic development and personal freedom.

-- America's idealistic vision seeks not merely a safer world, but also a better world.

(12) We are strengthening the basis for expansion of economic opportunity.

-- [Rebuilding the U.S. economy -- and, in doing so, helping lead the world toward recovery.]

-- [Resisting protectionist pressures -- building on Williamsburg summit. Cite and defend wine and domestic content examples. Look toward London summit, new round of trade and services negotiations; and international framework that opens markets for our exports of goods and services, allows freer flow of capital, and more growth/efficiency/jobs for all.]

-- [Expanding trade and investment relationships -- cite CBI; make more of "Pacific Basin" opportunities.]

-- [Assuring sufficient international liquidity -- cite, and note importance of, success with and through IMF funding.]

-- [Helping less developed countries grow -- discuss in general; note U.S. trade with LDCs.]

(13) We are also strengthening the basis for an expansion of democratic values.

-- [Elaborate.]

-- [Return to Central American example. Remind that peace and security are preconditions to both economic development and development of democratic institutions -- and that policy requires an integrated mix (as discussed above). Use this as transition to challenge #4.]

(D) CHALLENGE #4:

(14) We must restore bi-partisan consensus in support of U.S. foreign policy.

-- [Repeat points made above re obvious importance of this -- and regrettable cases of Congressional wavering in Central America and Middle East.]

(15) [Argue the problem is deeper than just these two cases might suggest. The more basic problem is: In this "post-Vietnam era, Congress has not yet developed capacities for coherent, responsive, and responsible action to go with the new foreign policy powers it has taken unto itself.]

-- [Cite increased powers Congress has assumed since Vietnam.]

-- [Note that this means that bi-partisan consensus-building is more important than ever.]

-- Indeed, it is now an essential responsibility of leadership -- not only Executive leadership, but also Congressional.

- (16) We have, in some areas, demonstrated the capacity for such joint leadership. But when it comes to integrated programs to stabilize troubled regions, many in the Congress seem to act as if they were still in the troubled Vietnam era -- as if their policy responsibility were simply to be vocal critics, not responsible partners in the development of positive programs to solve real problems.
- (17) Much was learned from Vietnam -- ranging from increased appreciation of the need for careful discrimination in the projection of U.S. force to increased appreciation of the need for domestic political support for any such military element of policy. But clearly force projection and/or military assistance must, in certain cases, be available tools in the foreign policy mix. And equally clearly, the Congress is, at best, uncomfortable with either the military element of foreign policy or with the new responsibility for this element that it has taken unto itself.
- (18) If the Congress intends to keep this new responsibility, there must be additional adaptation in this "post-Vietnam era."
  - o Presidents must now recognize Congress as a more significant partner in foreign policy-making -- and must therefore, as we have, seek new means to reach bi-partisan Executive-Legislative consensus.
  - o But equally important: Congressmen must realize that they, too, are partners -- who must share responsibility for more than just their criticism and their words. They, too, must demonstrate a capacity for consensus-building that can lead to effective, positive action.

V. CONCLUSION

- (19) We have sufficient consensus on the abstract goals of foreign policy; and we've made substantial progress in the development of concrete and realistic means to achieve those goals.
- (20) But while there is consensus on goals and progress on means, there is still a Congressional reluctance to assume the full responsibility for positive (not negative) means that must go with newly claimed Congressional powers. It is this responsibility for the development of effective and affirmative means that must be the focus of bi-partisan consensus-building.
- (21) That is the challenge for responsible leadership in the post-Vietnam era -- for however sound our policy prescriptions, they will come to naught if they cannot be implemented and sustained.
- (22) We've set some excellent examples with the bi-partisan Scowcroft Commission, the bi-partisan support for IMF funding, and the bi-partisan work of the Kissinger Commission. But clearly the pattern of bi-partisan consensus-building must be extended -- to build on the foundations we've laid, and to sustain a set of policies that can, both realistically and idealistically, meet the challenges of the '80s.

*Curtis Mac* *Johnny* *Alan* *Ston* *Morgan* *Mareese* *S B Data*

CITIZENS FOR THE REPUBLIC DINNER  
FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1984

It's a genuine pleasure to be here with so many good friends  
this evening. *LN- Univ - SJS*

*But* It is also great to be back in California, especially since  
California government has again become Brown free.

You know Jerry Brown and John Glenn have much in common.  
They both went up in space. The only difference is that Glenn  
came down.

But you can all be proud of your new Governor. Even out in  
Washington, we're getting such great reports about how Governor  
Dukmejian is doing. They say he's conservative simply because he  
believes in arithmetic.

Seriously, tonight, being with so many with whom I've gone  
through campaigns and legislative battles. There are bonds  
between us forged by common ideals and what my boss describes as  
the blood and sweat of the arena.

It is fitting we're here to help Citizens For The Republic.  
It has served a significant role since its founding in 1977. The  
task it's taken on -- electing right thinking people to the  
Senate and House -- is vital to the success of President Reagan's  
second term.

Curtis Mac, you're doing a fantastic job, and although by  
law all members of the President's reelection campaign have to  
stay at arms length, we wish you well and congratulate you for  
the professional job you're doing.

We have journeyed far together since we first joined with  
Ronald Reagan in pursuit of his dream for America -- A dream  
which we all shared. *Met Prairie Fire he began*  
*in 1964.*

*Mike*  
*Connors*  
*Tennis*

We were convinced then that America needed a new direction. Government was out of control. Our country had drifted away from the values that made us a great nation -- values of family, work, neighborhood, peace, and freedom. We agreed with Ronald Reagan when he said that we could resurrect a spirit of hope with economic growth and opportunity. And we agreed with Ronald Reagan when he said that we could rebuild the strength and credibility of our military and foreign policy, so America could become a confident and effective leader again for security, freedom, and peace.

Now, seven years later, all the world recognizes what we have known all along: America's best days are still ahead. America is back.

They said it couldn't be done, didn't they? As recently as 1980 many thought our problems were out of control.

You remember them as well as I do. Double-digit inflation, the energy crisis, the highest interest rates in a hundred years, America's loss of world leadership and declining military strength were among our many problems. Yet our so-called leaders told us they couldn't be solved.

They said we would have to learn to live without economic growth and learn to live with high inflation, high taxes, and scarce energy.

But Ronald Reagan rejected this pessimism. He offered hope. He promised change.

And he delivered. Now Americans are feeling better about themselves, their country and their future. For the first time in years there's a growing optimism across this land.

Recent polls tell the story. Some 66 percent of all voters today approve the American quality of life. And 62 percent agree that this Nation's best times are still ahead. Seven out of ten Americans expect that 1984 will be better than 1983 for them personally -- a 21 percent jump since January 1981 and the highest rating since 1960 when John F. Kennedy was President. And, for the first time since 1964, public confidence in government is rising.

Make no mistake about it -- the election of Ronald Reagan was a triumph of optimism over pessimism, a victory for renewal of the American spirit over continued national self-doubt.

In 1981 he caught the attention of all Americans with this promise of a new beginning for this country, a beginning grounded in the twin pillars of a strong economy and a strong defense.

Recovery without inflation was our primary goal. And we've accomplished it. From the double digit inflation of 1979 and 1980 we've reduced it to less than 4 percent.

Reduced inflation together with our tax cuts make working Americans better off than they were. And with falling unemployment, more Americans are working Americans than ever before.

Our broad-based economic recovery has created 4.3 million new jobs: 215,000 in the auto industry, 440,000 in construction; 960,000 in services; and 1.2 million in manufacturing.

Last year was the first year since 1972 that we enjoyed the winning combination of consistent solid growth, low inflation and falling unemployment.

Don't let anyone tell you that the average American isn't benefitting from our economic turnaround. From new job opportunities in high tech industries to more affordable housing and gains in real wages the American family is doing better. Thanks to lower inflation and reduced taxes the median income family now has \$1200 more purchasing power than if inflation and taxes had stayed at the 1980 levels. Now that's what I call fairness.

We've proved that government can work to change things for the better -- and that Americans still respect and want to preserve basic values -- the dignity of work, the importance of family, neighborhood and worth of the individual.

Surely there can be no more debate on this point. Americans are better off -- with more jobs, lower taxes, a paycheck that goes further and a chance at the good things in life that seemed unattainable only three years ago.

Not only do the American people want their country to be a good and decent place. They also want their country to be strong, for our own security and for the cause of peace. Four years ago this country was being counted out. Our friends and our adversaries doubted whether we had the national will to remain a great power.

Ronald Reagan gave voice to the values we share. He spoke out against tyranny, spoke up for democracy and he's made America

stronger, safer and more secure than before. We're working for peace from a position of new strength. We're gaining the respect we lost.

From the start our new sense of purpose in foreign policy was clear. U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick was asked shortly after she arrived at the U.N. about the difference between this Administration's policies and that of its predecessor. She replied that we've taken off our "kick-me" sign.

"Does this mean that if you're kicked you'll kick back?" she was asked.

"Not necessarily," she replied. "But it does mean that if we've kicked, at least we won't apologize."

Over these last three years I've traveled throughout the world with the President. I can assure you that we are now exercising the leadership the free people of the world want and expect from the United States. From Europe to the Middle East to Central America our commitment to democracy and willingness to work for peace is clear to all.

But our work is not done. The President has outlined his vision for the future and has asked the Nation to unite behind his four great goals "to keep America free, secure, and at peace in the eighties": ensuring steady economic growth; developing America's next frontier; strengthening our traditional values; and building a meaningful peace. He's working to keep America moving forward. He wants to get on with freedom's next steps.



I know that you support the President and his goals. Now we need to ensure that we have a Congress that supports them, too. As you well know, the President can't do it alone.

Take the budget, for example. If the Congress had accepted the budget cuts proposed by the President in his first three years in office, the deficit would be at least \$40 billion less than it is now.

The plain truth is that it is the Congress that spends the money. Under our Constitution, the President doesn't have the right to spend even one penny.

Let's remember something else. Deficit spending began 50 years ago and 46 of those 50 years, Democrats controlled Congress. If the President is going to be asked to finish what he started, he needs a Congress that's willing to work on structural reforms, not one that believes all we need to do is shift from a policy of spend and spend to a policy of tax and tax.

These have been phenomenal years with phenomenal accomplishments, but -- what a phenomenal man Ronald Reagan is. I joined his staff in Sacramento when I was just 29 years old. I've spent much of my adult life working with this man. I can't think of any way I would rather have spent these important years in my life than being by his side, working for the ideals that he so ably expresses. A reporter once asked him if he thought of me as a son -- "No," he replied, "I think more like a father." Over the years, I've had various areas of responsibility, but seriously, having been with President Reagan as long as I have,

the question I hear most often is: Just what kind of a man is Ronald Reagan?

Well, he is a caring man. He is the kind of man who got in this car after a long days work as Governor of California and went 18 miles to deliver roses to a young woman for her anniversary. Her husband had written him from Vietnam, asking him to do something for his wife on their first anniversary.

He is a man with a sense of humor, as the whole world discovered on that dark day when his quips lightened the tensions for all of us after he'd been wounded in an assassination attempt.

He is a humble man. I'll never forget in Nebraska when former Senator Eugene McCarthy came to speak with him, thinking of a possible endorsement. After spending time with President Reagan he committed himself. This grand old liberal told me on the way out that he liked Ronald Reagan because he was certain that Ronald Reagan would be the first President since Harry S Truman who wouldn't confuse the job with the man. And he never has.

I've been with him on hot sweltering days and even then he refuses to take off his coat in the Oval Office out of respect for the institution.

He's a man who doesn't care who gets the credit. On the day of inauguration in 1981, when President-elect Reagan was about to walk out to the ceremony, he turned to me and told me if it was confirmed that the hostages had left Iranian airspace during his inaugural address, that I should step forward and let him know.

If that happened, he planned to call President Carter to the podium to make the announcement together that the hostages were free and safe. This is the kind of man Ronald Reagan is.

He is a courageous man. I recently accompanied President Zhao of China to California after his visit to the White House. I told him how then Governor Reagan stood on the Capitol steps in Sacramento and told 14,000 screaming professors and students from the University system that they'd have to obey the rules or get out.

He is also a man of compassion. I've slipped into the Oval Office a few times and watched in silence from a corner. Watched him alone doing the heart wrenching job of calling the family members of those brave men killed in Lebanon. I watched him muster all his emotional strength to speak with the wives, mothers, fathers and children of the victims of the bomb blast in Beirut. Ronald Reagan is leaving his personal imprint on this country. He is leaving his imprint on the Republican Party. He's leaving his imprint on history and he is leaving his imprint on you and on me.

*LASTLY HE IS A SMART MAN - NAWAY*

Tonight, being with so many old friends I can't help but think of one face who is not here. Justin Dart, a man who meant so much to all of us, just as he meant a lot to the President.

When the papers wrote about Justin's death they referred to him, among other things, as a member of the kitchen cabinet. They didn't mention, it was his kitchen.

Justin was a man of strong conviction. His beliefs in individual freedom and responsibility affected a host of people,

not the least of whom was Ronald Reagan. Justin continues to contribute to his country by what the President is doing and by what we are doing. By what C.F.T.R. is doing.

The greatest tribute we can pay to Justin is to finish the work we've started. Tonight is a step in that direction. Your goal to contribute \$1 million toward Senate and House campaigns this year is crucial. If you're successful, then in the second term, the President can be successful.

I know at times, especially when we lose a friend and significant force in our team like Justin Dart, it can be depressing. But if there is one thing I've learned from President Reagan it is optimism and the ability never to give up.

How many here tonight remember back in 1976. We'd worked all year trying to win the nomination. We came close, but it wasn't good enough. If it had been left to some of us we'd have given up and all of the achievements we've made these last four years would never have happened. The difference was the indomitable spirit of that man.

The next morning after the nomination was lost, the California delegation gathered together and Ronald Reagan, remembering something he'd read, quoted us an old verse. It goes something like this:

Though I am wounded, I am not slain.

I'll lay me down and rest a while.

And then I'll rise to fight again.

The fight for liberty will never be over. Let's thank God that we have a man like Ronald Reagan to lead us and give us encouragement and to add meaning to our lives.

As you go about your work over the next 10 months, I urge that you be guided by the President's challenge to all of us in this year's State of the Union address: "Let us be sure that those who come after will say of us that, in our time, we did everything that could be done. We finished the race, we kept them free, we kept the faith."

Thank you for having me with you this evening.